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British Identity in the Late Nineteenth Century Cape Colony: Racism, Imperialism, and the Eastern Cape

Takayuki HORIUCHI

Introduction

In contemporary South Africa, British immigrants have long been a minority relative to Afrikaners (Dutch immigrants/Boers) and Africans. These demographics date back to the British Empire's colonial rule, which expanded in the late nineteenth century and brought with it numerous problems. During that period, the Empire was extending its territories in southern Africa, where rich deposits of diamonds and gold had been discovered. Britain annexed Bechuanaland (now Botswana) in 1885 and Mashonaland (formerly Southern Rhodesia, now Zimbabwe) in 1889. In 1880 and 1899, Britain declared the South African (Anglo-Boer) Wars on the Afrikaner republics of Transvaal and the Orange Free State. At the centre of the Empire's "Cape to Cairo" policy was the Cape, which the Dutch had formally ceded to Britain in 1814. At the Cape, the grants of the representative and responsible governments in 1853 and 1872 established the British as colonial citizens, but these newly minted citizens nonetheless had to cope with the Afrikaners' ethnic nationalism beginning around 1880.

In the 1920s, more than a decade after the Colony's 1910 dissolution and the subsequent formation of the Union of South Africa, South African universities began conducting historical research on the late nineteenth century Cape. During this research period, British liberals were opposed to the Afrikaner nationalists' government as well as Afrikaners' conservatism and racism (apartheid not until 1948). Liberal historians emphasized that the late nineteenth century Cape had been the birthplace of British liberalism in South Africa. According to these historians, there was a marked difference between the Cape's tradition of colourblind politicians and the colonial parliament, which was summed up by the dictum, "Equal rights for every civilized man," and "No equality in

church or state," which was applied to both Transvaal and the Orange Free State.¹ In contrast, beginning in the 1970s, new left (known as the radical in South Africa) historians were highlighting the racial discrimination of the British against Coloureds (the term used to describe emancipated slaves and natives around Cape Town).²

Alternatively, one of the ongoing crucial issues in post-apartheid South Africa has been the African National Congress government's use of history. Prime examples of this have been the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (1995–1998) and the centenary of the Second South African War (1999–2002). However, English-speaking historians, feeling alienated from the present situation, have started to take interest in excavating their own identity.³ Their interest has also contributed to concerns raised by imperial historians about the British identity in white settlement colonies and Dominions like Canada, Australia, and New Zealand.⁴ Imperial historians have emphasized the settlers' openness to other ethnic groups and the Afrikaners' loyalty to an Empire they characterized as embodying liberty and tolerance, particularly in the late nineteenth century Cape.⁵ This perspective is not irrelevant to the present situation surrounding the use of the English language, which is spoken by the British and the African elites, that has far overtaken the use of the traditional Afrikaans language. Afrikaner historians have also emphasized

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- 1 For example, E.A. Walker, *W.P. Schreiner: A South African* (London, 1937); Shortened Version (Johannesburg, 1960); J.L. McCracken, *The Cape Parliament* (Oxford, 1967); G.E. Shaw, *Some Beginnings: The Cape Times (1876-1910)* (Oxford, 1975); T.R.H. Davenport, *The Afrikaner Bond: The History of a South African Political Party, 1880-1911* (Oxford, 1966).
 - 2 For example, S. Trapido, 'The Friends of the Natives: Merchants, Peasants and the Political and Ideological Structure of Liberalism in the Cape, 1854-1910', in S. Marks and A. Atmore (eds.), *Economy and Society in Pre-Industrial South Africa* (London, 1980); V. Bickford-Smith, *Ethnic Pride and Racial Prejudice in Victorian Cape Town: Group Identity and Social Practice, 1875-1902* (Cambridge, 1995).
 - 3 For example, S. Dubow, 'Colonial Nationalism, the Milner Kindergarten and the Rise of "South Africanism", 1902-10', *History Workshop Journal* 43 (1997); J. Lambert, 'South African British? Or Dominion South Africans?: The Evolution of an Identity in the 1910s and 1920s', *South African Historical Journal* 43 (2000); A.S. Thompson, 'The Languages of Loyalism in Southern Africa, c. 1870-1939', *English Historical Review* 118-477 (2003); B. Nasson, *Britannia's Empire: Making a British World* (Stroud, 2004).
 - 4 For example, C. Bridge and K. Fedorowich (eds.), *The British World: Diaspora, Culture and Identity* (London, 2003); P. Buckner and R.D. Francis (eds.), *Rediscovering the British World* (Calgary, 2005); K. Darian-Smith, P. Grimshaw and S. Macintyre (eds.), *Britishness Abroad: Transnational Movements and Imperial Cultures* (Melbourne, 2007).
 - 5 For example, M. Tamarkin, *Cecil Rhodes and the Cape Afrikaners: The Imperial Colossus and the Colonial Parish Pump* (London, 1996).

their ancestors' loyalty to the Empire.⁶ Moreover, the multiculturalism of the Commonwealth has long been a source of pride for post-imperial multiethnic Britain. For instance, in London's Parliament Square stand the only two statues (unveiled in 1956 and 2007) of the Anglophile, liberal non-British figures, Jan Christiaan Smuts (1870–1950), who served as an Afrikaner prime minister of the Union of South Africa, as well as Nelson Mandela.

Nevertheless, any emphasis on the openness and multiculturalism of the British identity is generally one-sided and biased. This was evidenced in three particular ways during the late nineteenth century Cape period. Firstly, the region's identity was inseparably tangled up with racism, not only the racial discrimination that radical historians highlighted but also the construction of whiteness. Secondly, the identity was closely connected with imperialism, including such tactics as the Cape to Cairo policy. Thirdly, the situation in the Eastern Cape, including areas such as Port Elizabeth, was notably different from Western areas like Cape Town, where values of liberalism and Afrikaner loyalty originated. Historian William Beinart indicated the importance of "self-consciously progressive [settler] farmers" in the East, but he did not fully demonstrate this concept.⁷

Therefore, this article will explore the British identity in the late nineteenth century Cape Colony and will reconsider the one-sided and biased understanding that emphasized the identity's openness and multiculturalism. As primary sources, this article will mainly utilize the *Cape Argus* as published under the influence of Cecil John Rhodes (1853–1902), the prime minister of the Colony from 1890 to 1896, the *Cape Times*, and the Eastern Cape's *Port Elizabeth Telegraph*. These three newspapers were the leading press in the Colony of their day, and their readership demographics were largely the British and bilingual Afrikaners. In 1896, the *Times* had a weekly circulation of 65,000. This number was significant because the Colony's population at that time was 1,500,000, with Europeans representing approximately one quarter of the population. During this period, along with schools, monuments, and festivals, the newspapers' influence upon identity formation was notable. However, it is difficult to interpret readers' responses to these publications simply because readers' contributions to the three papers were limited. Therefore, I will focus on analyzing editorials and other articles. Furthermore, historian Gerald Shaw still considers the *Cape Times* to be a liberal (read anti-racist and anti-

⁶ For example, F.A. Mouton, "A Free, United South Africa under the Union Jack": F.S. Malan, South Africanism and the British Empire, 1895-1924', *Historia* 51-1 (2006).

⁷ W. Beinart, *The Rise of Conservation in South Africa: Settlers, Livestock, and the Environment 1770-1950* (Oxford, 2003).

imperialist) newspaper.⁸ Keeping this in mind, it is also important to reconsider the myth of liberalism in the press.

The first chapter of this article will examine the relationship between Rhodes's cultural integration of settlers and the construction of whiteness. The second and third chapters will investigate the *Argus* and the *Times* and will consider a link between the colonist identity and the Cape to Cairo policy. Finally, the fourth chapter will show that the *Telegraph* was an anti-Afrikaner and anti-expansionist publication.

1. The Cultural Integration of Settlers and the Construction of Whiteness

This chapter will examine the relationship between Rhodes's cultural integration of settlers and the construction of whiteness. As discussed above, radical historians highlighted the racial discrimination practiced by the British in the late nineteenth century Cape. The discovery of diamonds in 1867 and the growth of the colonial economy thereafter resulted in both a rise in some non-Europeans' social positions and an increase in European anxiety. This insecurity on the part of the European population living in the Cape is captured in the words of one Christian evangelist who referred to what was thought in some bourgeois English minds to be a recent lack of Malay (emancipated slaves around Cape Town) deference or acceptance of place:

Formerly the Malays were the trusted servant class. There were bonds of affection between them and their White employers. They were much humbler and more accessible than at present ...Malays were spoken of as specially faithful, though humble citizens...There is no longer the same intimacy of dependence...The Malays are now rather exclusive, and independent.⁹

However, in the Cape, racial discrimination was also part of the warp and woof of European identities. Dutch immigrants accounted for sixty percent of the European population, while the British numbered forty percent. The Dutch had settled in the Cape during the mid-seventeenth century. Although many of them did live in rural districts, those inhabiting towns were more anglicized.¹⁰ In contrast, the British did not immigrate until after the early nineteenth century and many of them resided in towns.¹¹ Repeatedly,

⁸ G.E. Shaw, *The Cape Times: An Informal History* (Cape Town, 2000).

⁹ P.N. Waggett, 'The Malays of Cape Town', *Cowley Evangelist* (August, 1899), in Bickford-Smith, *Ethnic Pride*, p.72.

¹⁰ H. Giliomee, 'The Beginnings of Afrikaner Ethnic Consciousness, 1850-1915', in L. Vail (ed.), *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa* (Berkeley, 1989), pp.22-27.

¹¹ N.G. Garson, 'English-Speaking South Africans and the British Connection: 1820-1961', in A.

the British oppressed the Dutch in cooperation with the colonial authorities and missionaries, and the British historical narrative reflected this situation. For example, John Noble (1836–1898), a parliamentary official, described the Dutch as follows in his eighteenth century discourse, *South Africa, Past and Present* (1877): “Their moral condition was scarcely higher than the Hottentots [natives around Cape Town] or slaves who were their household companions.”¹² Around 1880, this type of oppression gave rise to the Afrikaners’ ethnic nationalism. Die Genootskap van Regte Afrikaners (the Association for True Afrikaners, later the Afrikaner Bond) was formed near Cape Town in 1875 to campaign for the recognition of Afrikaans and Calvinism. Such nationalism was also associated with the First South African War (the Transvaal War of Independence) in 1880–1881, and Afrikaners were sympathetic to the Great Trek, the founding myth of Afrikaner republics during the mid-nineteenth century.¹³

Under these circumstances, the cultural integration of Afrikaners and the formation of the Cape colonists’ identity became important issues for Rhodes, who served as prime minister from 1890 to 1896. As a mining magnate, he attempted to expand the British Empire’s influence on the subcontinent and to secure the Colony as a base for the Empire. For example, Rhodes’s speech at the Afrikaner Bond’s annual congress in 1891 stated:

There is no place that can form, train, and cultivate the ideas of the young men of this country, no place better suited to such objects, than the suburbs of Cape Town. As a Cape Colonist I hope to make Cape Town the centre of South Africa...If you desire the cordial and intense cooperation of the English section of this country, let us unite and be of one mind on this question of self-government...We have our history and our nation to look back on.¹⁴

Within such a context, numerous historians, writers, and architects culturally strived to integrate Afrikaners with Rhodes’s patronage, and whiteness played a vital role in this construction. One case in point is George McCall Theal (1837–1919), an archivist and author to whom Rhodes granted the title of “colonial historiographer.” Theal’s assessment of the Portuguese in sixteenth century southern Africa was as follows:

De Villiers (ed.), *English-Speaking South Africa Today* (Cape Town, 1976), p.18.

¹² J. Noble, *South Africa, Past and Present: A Short History of the European Settlements at the Cape* (London, 1877), p.15.

¹³ For example, *Zuid Afrikaan*, 13 January, 1881.

¹⁴ Rhodes’s Speech at the Annual Congress of the Afrikander Bond, 30 March, 1891, in Vindex (ed.), *Cecil Rhodes: His Political Life and Speeches 1881-1900* (London, 1900), pp.276-277.

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The Portuguese, whether soldiers or traders, were in South Africa so circumstanced that they degenerated rapidly. A European female was very rarely seen and nearly every white man consorted with Bantu [African] women...Cut off from all society but that of barbarians, often until towards the close of the 16th century without ministrations of the Church, sunk in sloth...no lives led by Europeans anywhere could be more miserable than theirs.¹⁵

In contrast, Theal opined about the eighteenth century: "The repugnance with which uncivilized coloured people were regarded by the Dutch had...good effect, that it preserved the colonists from contamination of blood."¹⁶ Moreover, Theal described the 1814 cession of the Cape by the Dutch to Britain by writing:

The surrender of the Cape Colony to the British forces brought together two branches of the same race, for conquerors and conquered were of one stock. Of all the nations of Europe, the inhabitants of the Northern Netherlands are the closest in blood to the people of England and Scotland.¹⁷

Olive Schreiner (1855–1920), a British South African novelist and suffragist, also expressed this type of racism in her 1891 contribution to the *Cape Times*:

There is a subtle but a very real bond, which unites all South Africans, and differentiates us from all other peoples in the world. *This bond is our mixture of races itself.* It is this which divides South Africans from all other peoples in the world, and makes us one.¹⁸

Further, Theal and Schreiner both referred to the British and the Dutch as "Teutons,"¹⁹ and Theal did exert influence upon textbooks and monuments in the late nineteenth century Cape.²⁰ Rhodes was also influential: Afrikaners admired him for his cultural integration work. For example, in 1892, David Christiaan De Waal (1845–1909), one of the leaders of the Afrikaner Bond, stated:

¹⁵ G.M. Theal, *History of South Africa vol.2: 1724-1795* (London, 1897), pp.238-239.

¹⁶ *Ibid. vol.5: 1854-1872* (1900), p.205.

¹⁷ *Id.*, *South Africa* (London, 1894), p.112.

¹⁸ O. Schreiner, *Thoughts on South Africa* (London, 1923), p.61.

¹⁹ For example, Theal, *South Africa*, p.52; O. Schreiner, *Closer Union: A Letter on the South African Union and the Principles of Government* (London, 1909), p.42.

²⁰ For example, A. Wilmot, *History of the Cape Colony: For the Use of Schools* (Cape Town, 1880); *id.*, *The History of South Africa: Intended as a Concise Manual of South African History for General Use, and as a Reading Book in Schools* (London, 1901).

The English and the Dutch must unite, as did the Dutch and the Huguenot in the early years of the colony. The harmonious union of the two white races is the condition of progress and peace in South Africa. It is the glory of Rhodes that he, more clearly than any other Englishman, recognized this truth, and has at last secured its recognition as the axiom of South African policy.²¹

Thus, Rhodes, in his attempt to integrate Afrikaners culturally in the late nineteenth century Cape, was inseparably linked to the construction of whiteness. Connected as it was to the European identity in the Cape, the colonist identity also surfaced as an issue during this period, and one of the points being debated was the Cape to Cairo policy. The next chapter will explore these problems.

2. The Colonist Identity and the Cape to Cairo Policy

This chapter will consider the link between the colonist identity and the Cape to Cairo policy. Numerous historians have expressed deep concern about cultural as well as socioeconomic aspects of the Cape to Cairo policy. Such apprehensions are represented by Karl Mauch's discovery of the Zimbabwe ruins (1871) and Frederick Courteney Selous's hunting, as well as written about in Thomas Baines's *Map of the Gold Fields of South Eastern Africa* (1873) and Henry Rider Haggard's novel *King Solomon's Mines* (1885).²²

The Cape to Cairo policy was also of significance for the British identity in the late nineteenth century Cape. Since the early days of the Colony, its leaders had considered territorial expansion to be "nationally" essential. Both the British and Afrikaners pinned their hopes on the Cape's interior to provide rich mining resources, abundant markets for agricultural products, and a hospitable place to settle a surplus population.²³ For example, Alexander Wilmot (1836–1923) and John Chase (1795–1877) argued in their *History of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope from Its Discovery to the Year 1819* (1869) that

²¹ 'With Mr. Rhodes Through Mashonaland: The Truth about the Land of Ophir', *Review of Reviews* (February, 1892).

²² For example, J.M. Mackenzie, *The Empire of Nature: Hunting, Conservation and British Imperialism* (Manchester, 1988), pp.120-146; D. Tangri, 'Popular Fiction and the Zimbabwe Controversy', *History in Africa* 17 (1990); L. Stiebel, 'A Map to Treasure: The Literary Significance of Thomas Baines's Map of the Gold Fields of South Eastern Africa (1873)', *South African Historical Journal* 39 (1998).

²³ I. Phimister, *An Economic and Social History of Zimbabwe 1890-1948: Capital Accumulation and Class Struggle* (London, 1988), pp.5-7; Tamarkin, *Cecil Rhodes*, pp.107-127.

rumours of “the existence of vast and rich fields of gold in the interior...and the actual discovery of valuable diamonds” would provide “fresh impetus” to the Colony.²⁴ In 1883, Rhodes insisted at the Cape House that “the development of the interior” was the Colony’s “birthright.”²⁵ Along the same lines, in 1894 Theal wrote that: “In the movement northward, the sons and daughters of the Cape Colony are taking an active part, and there are no people on earth more fitted than they to be the pioneer settlers of a new land.”²⁶

In this context, the colonist identity evolved over at least two travel diaries of Mashonaland, the first one written by Randolph Spencer Churchill (1849–95), Winston Churchill’s father. As a British politician and an investor in southern African mines, the elder Churchill was invited to the Cape by Rhodes in 1891, and Churchill entered into a contract with the *Daily Graphic* in London to write and publish a travel diary. The Churchill’s diary was also serialized by the *Cape Argus* under the influence of Rhodes after 1881, and it was published in London under the title of *Men, Mines and Animals in South Africa* (1893).²⁷

Churchill’s diary was partly characterized by the conventional discrimination against the Dutch of his time. For example, he depicted “the Boer farmer” in Transvaal en route to Mashonaland:

The Boer farmer personifies useless idleness...He is perfectly uneducated. With the exception of the Bible, every word of which in its most literal interpretation he believes with fanatical credulity, he never opens a book, he never even reads a newspaper.²⁸

His diary also presented a negative image of Mashonaland. For instance, he wrote dismissively about Mashona agriculture:

Where, then, I commenced to ask myself, is the much-talked-of fine country of the Mashona? Where is the “promised land” so desperately coveted by the Boers? On the low veldt, where the soil is of extraordinary fertility, fever and horse sickness afflict human beings and exterminate stock; on the high veldt, where neither of these evils extensively prevails, the soil is barren and worthless...I have, as yet, seen no place suitable for prosperous European settlements. To one

²⁴ A. Wilmot and J. Chase, *History of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope from Its Discovery to the Year 1819* (Cape Town, 1869), p.530.

²⁵ Rhodes’s Speech at the Cape House, 18 July, 1883, in Vindex, *Cecil Rhodes*, p.51.

²⁶ Theal, *South Africa*, p.387.

²⁷ R.S. Churchill, *Men, Mines and Animals in South Africa* (London, 1893).

²⁸ *Cape Argus*, 7 September, 1891; Churchill, *Men*, p.94..

person only would this country be attractive, to the sportsman or the hunter.²⁹

Churchill was harsh as well when describing the region's mining industry:

Mashonaland, so far as is at present known, and much is known, is neither an Arcadia nor an El Dorado. The discovery that the Mazoe river gold district was a disappointment, and that no expectations of fortune could be derived from it, was borne with comparative equanimity, for all were assured, those who had been resident in the country for some time and those who had recently arrived, that the mineral wealth in the district of Hartley Hill would more than compensate for the deficiencies of Mazoe. It seemed impossible that such a mass of apparently substantiated report and of rumour could turn out to be altogether valueless and misleading. I speedily found out, however, that this was the case.³⁰

Churchill was blatantly discriminatory when writing about the natives:

All opinions concur as to the utter worthlessness of the Mashona as labourers or as servants. They rarely stay more than a fortnight with any one person, and almost always bolt should any blankets or clothing be given them.³¹

On the basis of his travel observations, Churchill concluded that:

It cannot be denied that the high hopes which were entertained by so many and various competent authorities as to the great mineral and agricultural wealth of Mashonaland have not hitherto been justified or nearly justified.³²

Certainly, the damage inflicted upon Mashonaland by heavy rains and malaria in 1891 temporarily disillusioned investors and settlers alike.³³ However, Churchill's observations were based not only upon such understandable disillusionment but also upon outright discrimination against the British colonies. When it was published, Cape colonists felt alienated from Churchill's diary, and the newspapers criticized it soundly.³⁴

In this climate, a second diary, this one by James Percy FitzPatrick (1862–1931),

²⁹ *Cape Argus*, 18 December, 1891; Churchill, *Men*, pp.198-199.

³⁰ *Cape Argus*, 18 January, 1892; Churchill, *Men*, pp.269-270.

³¹ *Cape Argus*, 11 January, 1892; Churchill, *Men*, p.248.

³² *Cape Argus*, 22 January, 1892; Churchill, *Men*, p.276.

³³ Phimister, *Economic and Social History*, pp.7-8.

³⁴ For example, *Cape Times*, 1 September, 1891; *Cape Argus*, 1 March, 1892.

emerged into public view. FitzPatrick became leader of the Transvaal British during the mid-1890s and wrote *Jock of the Bushveld* (1907), which became the national juvenile novel of the Union of South Africa. FitzPatrick was Cape-born and served Rhodes. This occasioned Rhodes's ordering of FitzPatrick to join Churchill's party and to lead the tour. FitzPatrick's diary, too, was serialized by *the Cape Argus* and was published as *Through Mashonaland with Pick and Pen* (1892).³⁵

FitzPatrick criticized Churchill for expressing his prejudice against the Boers. For example, FitzPatrick cited an instance when Churchill failed to act as a journalist, but the latter instead indulged in an anti-Boer rant:

When in Pietersburg [in Transvaal] Lord Randolph expressed a wish to see a Boer farm...The old Boer was away...and his wife came out to welcome the "English Lord"...Perhaps the old lady's figure was not up to his ideal of the female form divine..."Ugh! Go on, go on, get away! Drive off," shouted his Lordship...Of Course this is only a half civilized country and people here know nothing of honoured traditions and *noblesse oblige* and all that, but we have some primitive ideas and half formed prejudices, and it would go against the grain with us to treat a Kafir [African] woman like that.³⁶

However, FitzPatrick indicated that he and others felt a sense of rivalry with the "Transvaal Boers." For example, in 1890, a faction of the Transvaal Boers tried to migrate to Banjailand (in Southern Rhodesia), which adjoins the Cape's frontier, but ultimately failed in that attempt. Alternatively, FitzPatrick strongly considered a northward expansion to be nationally essential for the Colony, and he wrote disparagingly about those migrants who returned:

When at Pietersburg we heard a great deal about the 'trek'—the great Banjailand Trek. The bubble had burst then and the trek was dead—dead for this year at all events...We met several parties of quondam invaders either peacefully and disgustedly trekking back or lounging aimless and befooled on the banks of the Limpopo.³⁷

Unlike Churchill, FitzPatrick did hold positive images of Mashonaland. For instance, FitzPatrick wrote about the natives:

³⁵ J.P. FitzPatrick, *Through Mashonaland with Pick and Pen* (Johannesburg, 1892).

³⁶ *Cape Argus*, 2 September, 1891; FitzPatrick, *Through Mashonaland*, p.38.

³⁷ *Cape Argus*, 25 August, 1891; FitzPatrick, *Through Mashonaland*, p.29.

The Mashonas are essentially a pastoral and trading race...They appeared to be an intelligent, peaceful, and industrious race.³⁸

In writing about the mining industry, FitzPatrick emphasized its pioneering spirit:

What strikes one very forcibly on mixing with the folk here is firstly their "greenness" for a pioneer mining population, and secondly the immense area of gold-bearing country, and the number of reefs that have been discovered—in proportion to the small and inexperienced population.

³⁹

On the basis of his observations, FitzPatrick concluded as follows:

A land, which in the hands of raw untaught savages can produce in great quantity and of excellent quality corn of all sorts, rice, tobacco...must surely in the hands of intelligent energetic men be capable of enormous developments. It is a natural garden and granary.⁴⁰

Historian John Darwin pointed out the importance of agrarian populism in white settlement colonies of the late nineteenth century, a movement that was linked to the colonist identity as well as contributing to a criticism of the industrialization and rapid urbanization then taking place in Britain.⁴¹ FitzPatrick's admiration for Mashonaland serves as a good exemplar of Darwin's agrarian populism. *Through Mashonaland with Pick and Pen* was favourably reviewed,⁴² and such agrarian populism was practiced by Afrikaners, many of whom lived in rural districts. For example, by depicting the world of the Old Testament, which Afrikaners romanticized, and the "southern countries of Old England," which critics of British industrialization and urbanization idealized, a Dutch newspaper in 1892 supportively characterized Rhodes, who was then in the process of pursuing the Cape to Cairo policy:

He is a young man of Davidian rosiness and freshness of countenance. He has about him the air of the woodlands, heaths and hedges of the southern countries of Old England.⁴³

³⁸ *Cape Argus*, 2 September, 1891; FitzPatrick, *Through Mashonaland*, p.45.

³⁹ *Cape Argus*, 7 March, 1892; FitzPatrick, *Through Mashonaland*, p.61.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p.126.

⁴¹ J. Darwin, 'Civility and Empire', in P. Burke, B. Harrison and P. Slack (eds.), *Civil Histories: Essays Presented to Sir Keith Thomas* (Oxford, 2000), pp.326-334.

⁴² For example, *Cape Argus*, 24 February, 1892.

⁴³ *Onze Courant*, 25 July, 1892, in Tamarkin, *Cecil Rhodes*, p.214.

This idealized agrarian image became the pride of the colonists as they measured themselves against Britain. For instance, in 1897, Matthys Martinus Venter, M.L.A. of the Afrikaner Bond, addressing the British parliament, described the north as a “pastoral and agricultural country.”⁴⁴

Thus, as the Cape to Cairo policy was being implemented in the late nineteenth century Cape, the colonist identity was evolving in concert with it. Both the *Cape Argus*, under Rhodes’s influence, and the *Cape Times*, which Shaw still considers to be an example of anti-imperialism, played vital roles in the cultural integration of settlers in the Cape. The next chapter will explore this topic further.

3. The *Cape Times* and the British Empire

This chapter will examine the relationship between the *Cape Times* and the British Empire. The *Times* was established in 1876, just four years after the grant of the responsible government, and it rivalled the *Argus* as the leading newspaper of the late nineteenth century Cape. The *Times* was also the first daily paper in southern Africa, reaching a weekly circulation of 65,000 in 1896. As was the case with other Cape papers, the *Times*’s readership consisted of the British and bilingual Afrikaners. Frederick York St Leger (1833–1901), who served as the *Times*’s editor from 1876 to 1895, was born in Ireland and migrated to the Cape as a missionary in 1856. Edmund Garrett (1865–1907), who succeeded St Leger at the *Times* in 1895 and remained its editor until 1899, was English and had arrived in the Cape with prior experience as an assistant editor at the *Pall Mall Gazette*.⁴⁵

The *Times*’s editorial position was not one of anti-imperialism, nor was the newspaper’s content irrelevant to the British Empire. Much of the paper’s focus was upon the colonizing schemes of the late 1880s. During this period, Britain’s initial sympathy toward colonization had matured into a warm endorsement of its social functions. Critics of the domestic incivility wrought by industrialization and urbanization were often attracted to the vision of a fresh start in a virginal landscape where lost social harmony and virtue could be regained. For example, historian James Anthony Froude (1818–1894) expressed admiration for the colonists’ agrarian populism; such admiration led to

⁴⁴ *British Parliamentary Papers*, 1897, [311.] vol.IX, : ‘Second Report from the Select Committee Appointed to Inquire into the Origin and Circumstances of the Incursion into the South African Republic by an Armed Force, and into the Administration of the British South Africa Company, &c.; With the Proceedings, Evidence, Appendix, and Index’, p.129.

⁴⁵ Shaw, *Some Beginnings*.

the idea of commonwealth based on an equality between Britain and her colonies.⁴⁶ The *Times* also supported these colonizing schemes enthusiastically, and “class” became a keyword in the discourse. For instance, in 1885, the *Times*’s first editor, St Leger, critiqued the proposal made by Arnold Henry White (1848–1925) to the Eastern Cape settlers:

To the Albany farmers he proposed a fair test in the importation of agricultural labourers...The English agricultural labourer is not the man for this country—at all events, not as a mere labourer for wages. The class of men the country wants is that of peasant farmers, placed either on land of their own or on land which they may hope to make their own, and amid not discouraging conditions.⁴⁷

The *Times* supported the cultural integration of settlers and denied that there was any distinction between the “Dutch” and the “English.” Further, the *Times* respected the concept of “Afrikanerism,” an egalitarian colonist identity that touted parity among the colonies, as opposed to “Colonialism,” wherein the colonies were dependent upon Britain. In 1889, for example, St Leger opined about the addresses of Frederick Young (1817–1913):

In one of his previous addresses Sir Frederick Young spoke of Dutch and English and of the importance of cultivating a spirit of concord between the two chief racial elements of our European population. This is a way of speaking common to strangers...In point of fact, however, the political distinction is not between Dutch and English but between Afrikanerism and Colonialism...Afrikanerism is a respectable policy; and its adherents set a splendid example of devotion and earnest perseverance to those who profess to belong to the other camp.⁴⁸

In the 1890s, the relationship between the *Times* and the Empire shifted to the Cape to Cairo policy. The *Times* also promoted the idea that northward development would be nationally essential. For example, in 1892, St Leger wrote:

The Northern development has been commended to Colonists again and again as a South African question, as a means of pushing the fortunes of the South African youth and of adding to the wealth of the South African communities. We cannot, therefore, affect indifference to an appeal

⁴⁶ J.A. Froude, *Oceana: Or England and Her Colonies* (London, 1886).

⁴⁷ *Cape Times*, 12 September, 1885.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 26 August, 1889.

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proceeding from the young South Africans engaged in the work of expansion.

St Leger further developed the "Monroe Doctrine," which opposed the intervention of European countries in southern African affairs,⁴⁹ and the *Times* enthusiastically propagandized further settlement. An 1885 article promoted Bechuanaland as virtually Edenic:

That portion of Bechuanaland, better known now by the name of "Stellaland"...is one of the finest and most salubrious portions of South Africa. The soil consists for the most part of a deep loam, capable of growing any quantity of cereals without being manured, and as the greater part is virgin soil, years would have to elapse before manure of any description would be necessary... Every description of English vegetable grows there luxuriantly, and every description of semi-tropical fruit as well as the home fruits flourish.⁵⁰

An 1891 article about Mashonaland spun a pastoral image directly linking life in Mashonaland to life in England:

Thunderstorms are frequent and furious, but the renewed veld is an ample reward for the inconvenience of occasional showers. Our cattle of many colours look as picturesque as they graze in the green veld, with trees wearing another shade of green for a background, amid patches of cloud shadows and sunshine, as the dairy cows of any lord of the manor ruminating in their owner's park in England.⁵¹

Garrett, the *Times*'s second editor, championed this idea of expanded settlement even more strongly than St Leger. Indeed, the subject of Garrett's *In Afrikanderland and the Land of Ophir* (1891) was northward development.⁵² For example, in 1897, Garrett rhapsodized about the settlement of Matabeleland (Southern Rhodesia) by the "Dutch Afrikanders [Afrikaners]":

The majority of the Dutch settlers are poor people, and the majority of those who come in the future will doubtless be of the same class. Some of the well-to-do will come also, compelled by the love of trekking so inherent in the Dutch Afrikander character, but the poor argue that the new

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 9 September, 1892.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 17 August, 1885.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 23 December, 1891.

⁵² E. Garrett, *In Afrikanderland and the Land of Ophir: Being Notes and Sketches in Political, Social and Financial South Africa* (London, 1891).

country is the place for them, and hence many are looking to Rhodesia as the Canaan of their earthly hopes. The English settlers in Matabeleland will welcome the Dutch immigrants, for there is no one like a Dutchman to tame a wild country. Not only in farming but in transport-riding and such other callings as require a knowledge of veld craft and of cattle the Dutch Afrikaner is to the front, and in the thorough development of this country many of them will be required. English and Dutch have fought side by side in Matabeleland against the savage foe, who threatened both alike, and the memory of this and the equable treatment with the English settlers will conduce to the growth of that brotherly feeling which is to some extent lacking in the countries to the south of the Crocodile [the Limpopo River].⁵³

These writings published in the *Times* were neither anti-imperialistic nor irrelevant to the British Empire, and the primary issues being addressed were the colonizing schemes of the late 1880s and the Cape to Cairo policy of the 1890s. In this manner, the *Argus* and the *Times* both supported the cultural integration of settlers and northward development. However, the situation at the *Port Elizabeth Telegraph* in the Eastern Cape was different. The next chapter will explore this topic.

4. The *Port Elizabeth Telegraph* and Identity in the Eastern Cape

This chapter will investigate the *Port Elizabeth Telegraph*'s arguments about the cultural integration of settlers, the colonizing schemes, and the Cape to Cairo policy. In contrast to the West, where settlement dated back to the Dutch rule during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, settlement in the Eastern Cape did not begin until after 1814, when the Colony was formally ceded to Britain. Before long, however, the Eastern frontier was expanding rapidly, with wool production becoming the Colony's key industry. The anti-West sentiments of Eastern Cape settlers were also evolving, not necessarily related to any ethnic nationalism on the part of the Eastern British against the Western Dutch, but rather resulting from the settlers' sense of alienation from the colonial authorities in Cape Town. While the economic policies of the colonial authorities attached greater importance to the West than to the East for strategic reasons, the authorities opposed the settlers on the issue of settler-native relations. Around 1853, when the Colony was granted its representative government, these feelings found expression in a political movement seeking to establish a separate parliament for the East or, failing that, to shift the seat of the existing parliament from Cape Town to a more central location. However, with the growing Western economy, resulting from the discovery of dia-

⁵³ *Cape Times*, 13 October, 1897.

monds in 1867, and centralization after the grant of the responsible government in 1872, separatism lost some of its appeal.⁵⁴ In the late nineteenth century, the political culture of Eastern settlers entered a new phase in which the *Port Elizabeth Telegraph* played a vital role.

Port Elizabeth was then the largest harbour city in the East, earning the moniker of the "Liverpool of the Cape." The *Telegraph*, established in 1848, had supported separatism for many years. In its earlier years, the paper had published only on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturday mornings; in 1898, however, the paper became the *Cape Daily Telegraph* and began daily publication. J. Kemsley, who was born in England in 1838 and moved to the Cape in 1849, became the paper's editor in 1860. Although it was an urban paper, the *Telegraph* was also forwarded to all the country districts by the same day's post. As a matter of fact, in the Eastern Cape during the late nineteenth century, the *Telegraph* could rightfully boast more British readers than either the *Grahamstown Journal* or the *Eastern Province Herald*.⁵⁵

One of the issues often addressed in the pages of the *Telegraph* was the British identity. Around 1880, against a backdrop of Afrikaners asserting their ethnic nationalism in the West, the *Telegraph* began encouraging Eastern settlers to be more conscious of their British identity. The paper's overt admiration for the "settlers of 1820," the founding fathers of the East, played a vital role in increasing awareness about the British identity. For example, in 1881, Kemsley wrote glowing prose about the cohesion of the Albany (Grahamstown and its environs) Farmers' Association:

The cohesion of the Albany Farmers is extremely gratifying. They seem animated by one spirit, the spirit of progress. They are chiefly the descendants of the settlers of 1820, and have to a great extent inherited from their forefathers the perseverance and hopefulness which have tended so greatly to make this Eastern Province what it is today—the pushing, active, working end of South Africa.⁵⁶

The unveiling of the Grahamstown Settlers' Memorial Tower in 1882 represented the apex of public admiration for the settlers of 1820. The *Telegraph* reported on the cel-

⁵⁴ B.A. Le Cordeur, *The Politics of Eastern Cape Separatism* (Cape Town, 1981); R. Ross, *Status and Respectability in the Cape Colony, 1750-1870: A Tragedy of Manners* (Cambridge, 1999).

⁵⁵ A. Mabin, 'The Rise and Decline of Port Elizabeth, 1850-1900', *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 19-2 (1986); *Edwards' South African Newspaper Directory and Advertisers' Guide* (Cape Town, 1896).

⁵⁶ *Port Elizabeth Telegraph*, 13 December, 1881.

eboratory day's procession, cricket game, and public soiree in detail,⁵⁷ expressing respect for the settlers as the "origin of English agricultural life" in South Africa.⁵⁸ Furthermore, the newspaper opined, the Memorial Tower was essential "to keeping alive the traditions of their race and perpetuating the memory of the pioneers of...civilization."⁵⁹

During the early 1880s, the *Telegraph* became more concerned with its readership of British farmers. A decrease in diamond production had reduced the Western market for agricultural products, and a serious recession was significantly impacting the farmers. Within this context, the *Telegraph* began to self-identify as the "farmers' press." In one example of this from 1882, the editor wrote:

We have a very great respect for the farmers of this Colony. They are men who have had a great deal to endure, and not over much sympathy with them in their endurance. Not having the means of making their wants known—living remote from towns and newspapers—they suffer many things that are seldom heard of beyond their own immediate area. When their grievances come to the light, they are usually put forth in a vague and rambling manner, so that redress in any particular instance is impossible.⁶⁰

During the 1880s, the number of articles about agriculture increased rapidly, remaining steady through the 1890s thanks to steady news of drought and scab infestations. On the one hand, the *Telegraph* continued to report the activities of farmers' associations, whose numbers continued to swell during the period, and expressed concern about those farmers' participation in politics. In 1892, for example, Kemsley contrasted his present with the past:

There was a time...when Parliament directly represented the feelings of towns alone...All this has now changed. Farmers' associations are established in every nook and corner of the Colony, while newspapers are received at almost every homestead and wayside inn. It has become fashionable to study purely farming politics, and no candidate for Parliament who seeks election in the country can hope to be returned who has not made himself acquainted with the reforms agitated for by both agriculturalists and stock breeder. It would perhaps not be an exaggeration to state that at the present moment there exists a greater display of political life in the country than in the towns...The population of the Cape Colony is today better informed on current topics and

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 23 May, 1882.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 26 May, 1882.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 21 March, 1882.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 28 April, 1882.

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more enlightened than at any period of the history of the Colony.⁶¹

The *Telegraph* also provided information about agricultural improvements; buzz-words of “progressivism” and “enlightenment” were often deployed in the press. For instance, in 1892, the *Telegraph*’s editor expressed the paper’s sympathy for the farmers:

The intelligent and progressive farmers of this Colony are deserving of a considerable amount of sympathy. There are few men situated in so unfortunate and trying a position. The wonder is ...that the great majority of them should continue year after year patiently struggling against all the ills and drawbacks which dog their footsteps. They are called upon to fight against nature and ignorance at the same time.⁶²

This ongoing interest in British farmers was connected to the prejudice against the Dutch/Boers. For instance, in 1882, the editor wrote disparagingly about the Cape Dutch:

As pioneers, the Dutch have all the elements of success, and but for their efforts civilization would not extend today...They enjoy the freedom with which a frontier life is associated, and are glad to escape what are to them the irksome conditions of civilized life.⁶³

Part of this construct of the “Dutch” as an uncivilized people was the conception that, after the emancipation of slaves in 1834, Boers detested “educated black men.” Kemsley wrote on this topic in 1884:

The Emancipation Act intensified the detestation of a Boer for an educated black man, and the detestation has come down to the present generation. Public opinion and increased education preclude the open assertion of dislike, but it is visible in a hundred ways, nevertheless.⁶⁴

Furthermore, the *Telegraph* opposed the Afrikaners’ ethnic nationalism and considered their relationship with the British farmers’ associations to be a problem. In 1882, Kemsley opined that:

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 31 May, 1892.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 11 August, 1892.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 5 May, 1882.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 4 March, 1884.

The moment the question of race or nationality becomes imported into agricultural questions the best scheme for amelioration must go to pieces like a house of cards. A Farmers' Association was consequently formed; but none of the Dutch Africanders would join it...The latter preferred the Bond...and nothing but the Bond. The English farmers refused to lend their influence or give their time towards any association tinged with disloyalty or calculated to engender animosity. Let the Dutch farmers by all means secede from the Association if such be their sweet will. It is not essential to its existence that they should be part and parcel of it, but in opposing it the seceders...will be the sufferers.⁶⁵

However, this antipathy was partially mitigated by the late 1880s, when Afrikaners' ethnic nationalism had become more moderate. The Afrikaner Bond, formed in 1883, only campaigned for the protection of Dutch farmers and recognition of the Dutch language in the colonial parliament. As illustrated in an 1888 editorial about public meetings, by this time the *Telegraph* had begun to backpedal on its former assertions of outright prejudice:

It is only of recent years that in agricultural districts public meetings have become popularized. The Dutch farmer has, however, begun to experience the value of this great constitutional privilege...Unskilled as he may be as an orator, totally ignorant of platform tricks and the art of speaking to Bunkum, the Dutch farmer at a public meeting is honest in what he says, and what he says is worth listening to if only on account of its honesty. We may not concur with him, but we respect his utterances for their sincerity.⁶⁶

Nevertheless, the antipathy did not wholly disappear, and it continued to smoulder throughout the late nineteenth century. The bone of contention in the late 1880s was the colonizing schemes. The *Telegraph* enthusiastically backed such schemes. The key question in play was whether the settlers were British or not. For example, in 1885, Kemsley wrote:

It is to be hoped that Cape colonists in England will urge upon their attention the field that South Africa affords for the settlements of industrious agriculturists from the United Kingdom. The success that attended the location of the British settlers in 1820 in Albany might be cited. To the credit of those hardy pioneers may be placed the present advanced condition of the Eastern Province. It was they who first really colonized this part of South Africa. Others followed them,

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 21 October, 1882.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 14 February, 1888.

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and in time the country became populated with a race of thoroughly British stock, whose loyalty and patriotism have never been questioned.⁶⁷

Alternatively, the *Telegraph* opposed Froude's view of the Dutch/Boers. Froude, who admired the colonists' agrarian populism, also idealized the Dutch farmers, and the *Cape Times* in the West supported Froude's idea of commonwealth.⁶⁸ An example of the *Telegraph*'s opposition can be seen in an 1885 editorial expressing disapproval of Froude's idealization of the "Dutchman":

Mr. Froude's Dutchman is a mere creature of his own fancy...The fact is that the Boer is the creature his circumstances have made him. He comes of a good stock and hereditary tendency and traditional habits still preserve some vestiges of civic virtue. But his coarse and brutal environment has made him cruel and tyrannical in many instances.⁶⁹

In the early 1890s, the Eastern settlers' opposition toward the Western view of the "Dutchman" became more overt when Rhodes culturally attempted to integrate Afrikaners. For instance, in 1890, the *Telegraph* criticized Rhodes for his being "constantly on the move between Cape Town and Kimberley [the diamond fields]" and for knowing "nothing of the Eastern Province of this Colony."⁷⁰ However, the flashpoint of controversy was the Cape to Cairo policy. An 1891 editorial expressed coldhearted sentiments about the settlement of Mashonaland, which had recently been ravaged by heavy rains and malaria:

The country may be suitable for agricultural or pastoral farming. It may be endowed by nature with all that farmers require, but its distance from any existing market would make grain or cattle rearing an unprofitable industry under present conditions.⁷¹

The following year, the editor made clear the *Telegraph*'s position on the settlement:

We do not hear of many agriculturists or of pastoral farmers arriving from England or Scotland or any of the countries of Europe...Mashonaland and Bechuanaland are being populated by the

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 6 August, 1885.

⁶⁸ *Cape Times*, 5 February, 1886.

⁶⁹ *Port Elizabeth Telegraph*, 3 January, 1885.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 15 July, 1890.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 25 August, 1891.

withdrawals from other parts of South Africa. We must confess that if this exodus from the Cape and the Free State continues the development of Mashonaland will not prove an unmixed benefit to South Africa.⁷²

In the mid-1890s, Eastern settlers felt ever more alienated by Rhodes's cultural integration of Afrikaners. In 1893, Kemsley wrote on behalf of the *Telegraph* about the non-Bond farmers' "consciousness of their power and their responsibilities,"⁷³ and, in 1894, he continued the discussion by saying that: "The real prosperity of South Africa is dependent on its farming population," not its diamond mines and gold reefs.⁷⁴ On the eve of the Second South African War of 1899–1902, these circumstances became one reason for settlers' participation in the anti-Bond Progressive Party, which, in Kemsley's words, "consolidated [the] position of Great Britain in South Africa."⁷⁵

Conclusion

This article has explored the British identity in the late nineteenth century Cape and has reconsidered the one-sided and biased understanding that emphasized the Cape's supposed openness and multiculturalism. In reality, the Cape colonists' identity was inseparably intertwined with racism (racial discrimination and the construction of whiteness) and imperialism (such as the Cape to Cairo policy). Moreover, the situation in the Eastern Cape was markedly different from that in Western areas, the latter which were the birthplace of South African liberalism and a stronghold of Afrikaners' loyalty to an Empire of liberty and tolerance. To minimize these aspects is to reflect the present situation, where the multiculturalism is touted as the pride of English-speaking South Africans and Britain.

It must also be said that there remain some unresolved problems in researching this topic. As primary sources, this article has utilized the *Argus*, the *Times*, and the *Telegraph*. Those three papers were the leading press in the Colony of their day and, during the period covered by this article, the influence of newspapers on identity formation was notable. However, I was unable to analyze readers' responses and to compare the role of newspapers with those of schools, monuments, and festivals. Further, to develop a full picture, it is important to examine the impact of the late nineteenth century

⁷² *Ibid.*, 21 May, 1892.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 17 June, 1893.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 6 November, 1894.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 2 November, 1897.

Cape British identity upon future generations and in other regions within southern Africa and the Empire. The remainder of this article will therefore survey this subject.

First, in the Western Cape during 1895 and 1896, Rhodes was engaged in an abortive attempt to overthrow the Transvaal Republic. The attempt proved unsuccessful and resulted in Rhodes's forced resignation as prime minister. However, the Rhodes-backed Jameson Raid failed to halt the cultural integration of settlers and the formation of the colonist identity. Indeed, at the 1897 British House of Commons' committee of inquiry, convened to investigate the raid, Venter, M.L.A. of the Bond, characterized the North in a positive light, as a pastoral and agricultural country. On the same committee, William Philip Schreiner (1857–1919), brother of the novelist Olive Schreiner and prime minister of the Colony from 1898 to 1900, criticized the British Colonial Office's intervention in southern African affairs. Schreiner testified: "I am South African first, but I think I am English after that."⁷⁶ However, beyond the Cape, the British Unionist government declared the Second South African War on Transvaal and the Orange Free State in 1899. Nevertheless, after 1905, when the Liberal Party replaced the British government, both the British and Afrikaners supported "reconciliation," and the Union of South Africa was formed in 1910. The settlers' cultural integration experiences in the late nineteenth century Cape were decidedly the background of this prompt Union.⁷⁷

In the Eastern Cape, the Progressive Party came to power in 1904, but the party subsequently lost office on the eve of the Union. In 1920, the Progressive Party merged with the South African Party, the government party of Smuts. However, Afrikaner nationalists gained office in 1924 and their regime continued, except from 1939 to 1948, until 1994. The Eastern Cape played a role in opposition to this regime by developing British conservatism alongside Natal.⁷⁸

The Eastern Cape did not separate from the West until 1994, when the former became a province, but that regionalism did not evolve into completely separate identities. Nevertheless, the anti-Afrikaner identity of the Eastern Cape continued to exert an influence on other southern African regions. For example, Ian Douglas Smith (1919–2007),

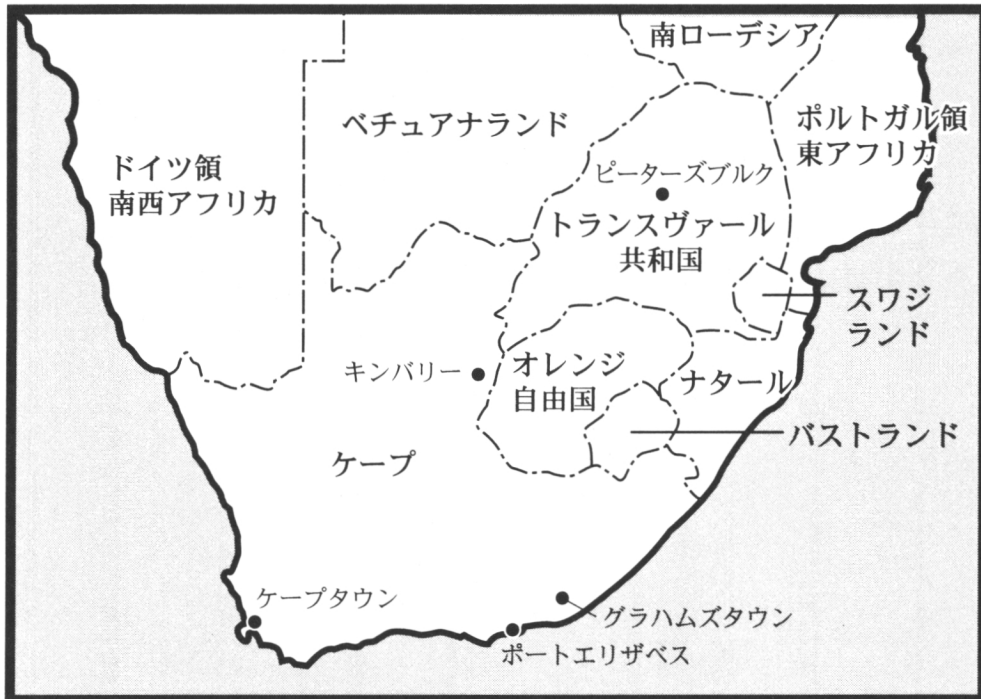
⁷⁶ *British Parliamentary Papers*, 1897, [311.] vol.IX, : 'Second Report from the Select Committee Appointed to Inquire into the Origin and Circumstances of the Incursion into the South African Republic by an Armed Force, and into the Administration of the British South Africa Company, &c.; With the Proceedings, Evidence, Appendix, and Index', p.236.

⁷⁷ T. Horiuchi, 'The Unification of South Africa and the Invention of "Reconciliation"', *Shirin* (Society of Historical Research, Kyoto University) 85-3 (2002) [Japanese]; id., 'The Experiences of Milner Kindergarten in South Africa (1899-1910) and the Concept of "Citizenship"', *Shirin* 86-6 (2003) [Japanese].

⁷⁸ For example, G.E. Cory, *The Rise of South Africa*, 5 vols. (London, 1910-1930).

the prime minister of Southern Rhodesia, chose to study at Rhodes University in Grahamstown. Further, the Eastern Cape's conservatism had its parallels with those identities found in the Atlantic Provinces of Canada and New Zealand. The study of these regions will help to reconsider the Western Cape-, Ontario-, and Australia-centered research that has long and misguidedly overemphasized the multiculturalism of the Empire.

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